

V. *A Letter from Mr. Tho. Hearne, M. A. of Oxford, to Mr. Ralph Thoresby, F. R. S. occasion'd by some Antiquities lately discover'd near BRAMHAM-MOOR in YORKSHIRE.*

WORTHY SIR,

§. I. **F**ROM the great Variety of *antient Monuments* continually found in these *Islands* 'tis plain that vast *Improvements* might be made to the *Accounts* that have been hitherto given of the *British Antiquities*, and there is no reason to doubt but if Mr. *Cambden* were now living he could with ease enlarge his *Britannia* to another Volume of *equal Value* with the former. *Coyns* were not so generally taken notice of by *learned Men* at *that time* as they have been *since*; at least if they did take notice of them, yet they were not so *curious* as to put down the several *Descriptions* of them, nor to consider their *true Use*. Since his *Excellency* Baron *Spanheim's* Book, and other *Works* of the same kind were publish'd, *Scholars* have been more *inquisitive* after these *Relicks*; and from the *infinite* numbers dug up amongst us, divers *Places* that were of *note* in the times of the *Romans*, but are now quite destroy'd, have been found out, which Mr. *Cambden* knew nothing of in his time for want of these *Discoveries*. Add to this that the *Antiquity* of some other *Towns* may be carried by these *Helps* much higher than he has done in his *respective Discourses* of them; and particularly *Witney*, within seven Miles of *Oxford*, appears to be of

note long before *Edward the Confessor's* time, as I gather from *Roman Coyns* lately found there, some of which I have had communicated to me by the Reverend Dr. *Ralph Trumbull*, not long since *Rector* of that Place. The best of those sent to me is one of *impure Silver* (according to the *Custom of that Time*) in Honour of *Julia Mamaea*, Mother to *Alexander Severus*. That which makes it the more likely that here was a *Town* so early is this, that the *Ickenild Way* passed not far from it on the right hand in its Course to *Cirencester*, where all the four *Great Ways* cross'd. I might here mention other *Places*, that have receiv'd the same *Advantage* for their *Antiquity*, if I were not sufficiently satisfied that you are much better acquainted with this Part of *Learning*, and with the *several Uses* of it than I am. Thro' the *Ignorance* of divers that light upon these *old Monuments* it is that many of them are quite destroy'd ; but then there are not wanting several *ingenious Gentlemen*, who out of a *natural Love* to *Antiquity* spare no *Costs* nor *Pains* to collect and preserve as many as they can, and are always ready to communicate to the *Publick* their *Observations* upon them. Amongst these I deservedly reckon your self, who as You have made a very *good Collection*, so you have withal been pleased to oblige the *Learned World* with several *curious Discourses* upon them in the *Philosophical Transactions*. You have likewise been so kind as to favour me with the Account of some of them, and when I was engaged in the *Oxford Edition* of *Livy*, you took care to transmit to me two *Inscriptions*, which shew that the *ixth Legion* of the *Romans* resided at *York*. These I have made publick at the End of the last Volume in the *Annotations* (a). But I am most concern'd at present for the *old Instruments* which you tell me were some Months

(a) See Vol. VI. pag. 181.

since found at a Place call'd *Osmondthick* near *Bramham-Moor* in your *County*, concerning which you desire I would give you my Opinion ; which I shall the rather do that you may see I am not unmindful of your *Favours*, but am willing to make all possible *Returns* I can.

§. 2. These *Instruments* it appears from your *Letter* are of *Brass*, and are *five* or *six* in *number*, but of different *Sizes*, from a little more than three to four *Inches* and a half in *length*, and from one and a half to two and a half in *breadth*. They are somewhat in *form* of a *Wedge*, as proceeding from a *thin Edge* to one and a half or two *Inches* at the *thicker End*, where they are *hollowed* to put upon a *Shaft*. Each of them has an *Ear* or *Loop*, which that I may the better perceive the *form* of, you have been at the *Pains* of adding the *Draught* of one, accurately done by your self. From your *exact* and *nice* Relation 'tis plain that they are just like that we have in the *Repository* adjoining to the *Bodlejan Library* at *Oxford*. This has been kept there for several *Years*; but where 'twas discovered there is not the least *Memorial* to inform us. Perhaps it might be procur'd by *Dr. Plot* when he was writing the *Natural History* of *Staffordshire*, where he has (b) mentioned several *Instruments* of the same kind dug up in that *County*. You have told me that 'tis your Opinion that these *Instruments* were the *Heads* of *Spears* or *walking Staves* of the *civiliz'd Britains*; and for *Confirmation* of it you refer me to *Mr. Speed's History* of *Great Britain*, (c) where he has publish'd the *Figures* of the *antient Britains* both before and after they were *civiliz'd*. You acknowledge however that the *Tops* of the *Spears* there are *somewhat different* from those we are now considering. And indeed they are not only *somewhat* but *altogether* diffe-

(b) See Chap. X. §. 19. &c. (c) L. I. c. 7.

rent, being exactly of the same *Make* with those we find in the *Columna Trajana* and the *Books* that represent to us the *Military Instruments* of the *old Romans, Greeks, &c.* But had they been of some *Resemblance*, yet I cannot see that those *Figures* in *Speed* are of any *Authority*. For tho' you guess that they were copied from *old MSS.* yet I could never yet meet with any *MSS.* of our *British History* that have any such *Figures*. If ever any one had them, we have reason to presume that other *Books* upon the same *Subject* would have retain'd them ; at least we ought not to doubt it of *Copies* of the same *Author*. That is the *Method* observ'd in other *Sorts* of *MSS.* The *Illuminators* were generally left at liberty as to the *Ornamental* Parts of the *Great Letters* ; but when any *Figures* were to be *depicted* that should illustrate and explain the *Author*, there they wereto be *exact* and *punctual*, and they had no more Allowance to *alter* them than they had to *alter* and *interpolate* the *Text* of the *Author* himself. Hence I am inclin'd to think that these *Figures* are *modern*, and are owing to Mr. *Speed* himself. 'Tis also what himself insinuates in the same *Chapter*, acknowledging that they were adapted to the *Descriptions* given of the *Britains* in *antient Authentick Authors*. But not to examine other *Particulars*, the *Form* of the *Spears* in their Hands is not countenanc'd by any *Authority* of Note. For tho' *Herodian* has acquainted us that they used *short Spears*, yet he is silent as to the *Make* of them. Nor indeed have we any where a good Account of the *Military Arms* of the *Britains*. The *Authors* transmitted to *Posterity* by them are modern in comparison of the *Roman Writers*, and are withal *Romantick* and not to be rely'd on. And as for the *Bards* they took no care to transmit to *Posterity* these *Weapons*, or to give us *nice Relations* of their *Countrymen*. 'Tis true, there have been and are still found several *Instruments* made of *Flint*, which the best *Judges* esteem to be *British*. The *Flint Heads* of their *Arrows* are commonly called in *Scotland* *Elf-Arrows*, as
being

being supposed to have an *extraordinary Virtue* against the *Elves*, and to drop from the *Clouds*. There are other *Flints* somewhat in form of *Axes*, and these Dr. Plot calls (d) *British Axes*; but Dr. Leigh thinks (e) they are *Indian*. Sir William Dugdale inclines to the Opinion embrac'd by Dr. Plot, and he acquaints (f) us with several of about four *Inches* and an half in *length*, curiously wrought by *Grinding*. But they might as well have been *Roman*, the *Romans* having used *Flint Weapons* as well as the *Britains*, and 'twas from the *Romans* that the *Britains* learn'd the *Art of working* them. That which also seems to make us believe that they might be *Roman*, is that those mentioned by Sir William were found at *Oldbury*, *Aldbury* or *Ealdbury*, which was a *Roman Fort*, and is the same in Signification with *Alcester* in *Oxfordshire*, *Alcester* being nothing else but *Ealdb-ceaster*, so call'd by the *Saxons* to shew that 'twas a *Place of Antiquity* even in their *Time*. And tho' the *Anonymous Author* of the *Antiquities* of *Alcester* at the End of the *Parochial Antiquities* of *Ambrosden* derive it from *Allectus*, as if he were the *Founder*, yet there is no *Authority* either from *Coyns*, *Inscriptions*, or *Books* to countenance the *Conjecture*.

§. 3. Now since there are no *Authentick Authors* by which we may learn what *Arms* were made use of by the *Britains* in their *Wars*, I can think of no properer *Method* for finding this out than by seeing what *Arms* were in use amongst those *People* from whom they immediately had their *Original*. Mr. *Sheringham*, who was a *learned Man* and endued with an *accurate Judgment*, inclines to the *Story* of *Geffry* of *Monmouth*, who deduces the *Bri-*

(d) Loco supra citat. (e) *Natural History of Lancashire*, lib. I. p. 181.
 (f) *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, pag. 778.

tains from the *Trojans*. And this is the Opinion too of several other *learned Men*. But whatever their *Abilities* and *Authority* might be in other *Respects*, yet in this they must be reckon'd *partial*, and I rather strike in with those other *Writers* of *more authority* who derive the *Britains* from the *Gauls*; amongst whom *Mr. Camden* is *chief*. He has *diligently* and *nicely* prov'd that the *Gauls* and *Britains* had the same *Religion*; that they *both* had their *Bards* and *Druids*, enjoy'd the same *form* of *Government*, us'd the same *Method* of *Fighting*, had the same *Natural Genius*, were equally *candid* and *innocent*, were addicted to *change* when provok'd, were *compassionate* to their *Relations*, and always ready to partake in their *Vindication*. He has withal shew'd that they *both* affected great *Numbers* of *Servants*, that their *Buildings* were alike and were surrounded with *Woods*, that they *both* usually wore *Chains* of *Gold* about their *Necks*, and had *Rings* on their *Middle-Fingers*; that they *both* wore *long Hair*, and that the *Garments* call'd *Brachæ* were *common* to each. These Things he confirms from the *best* and *most approved Authors*. And as the *chiefest Argument* he has alledg'd *Variety* of *Instances* to shew that they spoke the same *Language*. *Mr. Sheringham* himself was aware of this, and therefore to evade the *Force* of the *Argument* he makes (g) the *Trojans* to come through *Gaul*, which being then thinly inhabited, he says *Brute* and his *Companions* soon conquer'd it, built a *City*, and continued there 'till such time as they had well peopled it, after which they pass'd over into *Britain*, and by that means the *Britains* came to have the same *Language*. This is his *Hypothesis*, which is so far from deserving *Approbation*, that it does not seem consistent with usual *Prudence*, nor with the other *wise Acts* that are ascrib'd to *Brute*. For no one that *rightly* considers can think that *Brute* would voluntarily leave so large a

(g) See his *Book de Origine Gentis Anglor.* pag. 7. & seqq.

Country as Gaul for one that was so much *less*. It is therefore more likely that the *Britains* had their *immediate Original* from the *Gauls*. *Cæsar* himself thought so as to those that inhabited more near the *Coasts*, notwithstanding his *Observation* that the *Midland People* were *Aborigines*. Nor will *Boxhorn's Assertion* that the *Gallick Tongue* was the same with the *Scythian* overthrow this *Hypothesis*. For it may very well be supposed that the *Gauls* came first from the *Scythians*, who are in *Justin* (b) observ'd to have been the most *antient People*, and to have contended with the *Ægyptians* on that *Score*. This will *exactly* agree with what *Camden* and others have asserted concerning the *Gauls* being descended from *Gomer*, the *eldest Son* of *Japhet*. I know indeed that *Mr. Sammes* derives the *Scythians* from *Magog* the *second Son* of *Japhet*. But (not here to take notice of his contradicting himself in this *Point*) since *Strabo* (i) and *Stephanus* (k) mention a *City* call'd *Gogarena* between *Colchis* and *Iberia*, and since the *City Hierapolis* in *Cælo-Syria*, according to *Pliny* (l), was call'd by the *Syrians* *MAGOG*, 'tis more probable that *Magog* seated himself in those *Countries*, near to which 'tis agreed his *Brethren* settled, than that he wandred so far out of the *Way* from them. Here I cannot but take notice that the *Britains* were like the *Scythians* a *frugal People*, and their *long Lives* (they often living to the *Age* of 120 *Years*) might in great measure be ascrib'd to their *Temperance*, and their *Milk Diet*, (just like the *Hippomolgs* mentioned by *Homer* (m). And as *Æschylus* tells us that the *Scythians* were ἱππικὸς βοτῆρες σίναμοι, a *just Nation* and *addicted to the Feeding of Horses*,

(b) Hist. lib. II. c. 1. (i) Lib. II. (k) De Urbib. voc. Γογαρένη.
 (l) Nat. Hist. lib. V. c. 23. (m) Il. XIII. v. 3.

so the same may be said of our *antient Britains* who were very *religious* and observ'd the *Rules* of their *Priests*, and took extraordinary *Delight* in *Cattle*, whence perhaps they might affect to have the *figures* of *Beasts* cut upon their *Bodies*. From what has been laid down I hope 'tis plain that the *Gauls* and *Britains* were of the same *Original*. What we have next to do is to see what *Arms* were us'd by the *Gauls*. There are several *Authors* that have written of the Nature of them, and particularly *Cluver* and *Boxhorn*. Their *Names* are *Spatha*, *gessum*, (*gesum* or *gesum*) *lancea*, *sparum*, *cateia*, *mataris* or rather *materis* (not *matara*, *machara*, *uēts*, *uētsis*, *uēts* or *uētsis*) *thyreos*, and *cetrum* or *cetra*. I shall not here insist upon the Signification or reason of the *Names*, but only observe in general that the *gessum* was a *Javelin*, the *sparum*, *cateia* and *mataris* were different Sorts of *Darts*, and that the *thyreos* was an *oblong* and the *cetrum* a *short* sort of *Shield*. So that the *Spatha* only remains (for the nature of the *Lance* is well known) to be compar'd with the *Weapons* we are considering. 'Tis call'd by the *Italians* *SPADA*, and by the *Spaniards* *ESPAÑA*. From the *Description* that *Isidore* has left us of it, we are inform'd that 'twas a *two-edg'd Sword*, with which they *cut* and did not *thrust*. Whence 'tis plain these *Arms* had not *sharp Tops*, agreeable to what *Livy* (o) has related that their *gladij* were *prælongi*, *ac sine mucronibus*. And *Polybius* has the same reason why they did not *push* with them. Hence it is clear that our *Instruments* which have not *two Edges*, but are *dull* like *wedges* were not *spathæ*, and since they do not agree to any of the other *Gallick Instruments*

(n) See *Livy* lib. VIII. c. 24. Edit. Oxon. (o) *Lib.* XXII. c. 46 Edit. Oxon.

we must carry on our *Inquiry*; and examin whether they agree with any of the *Arms* of some other *antient Nation* that made a *Figure* in *Britain*.

§. 4. Our *Ancestors* the *Saxons* will have no share in this *Inquiry*. For 'tis plain from the *History* of them given by *Verstegan*, and the *figures* publish'd also by him, that *Spears*, *Halberds*, *Shields*, *Cross-bows*, *Swords*, (which were *broad* and *bowing*, somewhat in fashion of a *Syke*,) and *Hatchetts*, which they call'd *Bills*, were the *Arms* made use of by them; nor did the *Weapons* of the *Danes* that succeeded them much vary if at all. Coming from the *same Parts* they us'd the *same Customs* in their *Military Undertakings*. For tho' the *Normans* endeavour'd to make an *intire Alteration*, yet they found the *Attempt* impracticable, and they were forc'd to acquiesce, and lay aside their *Proposals*, which thwarted so very much those *antient Customs* that were here *generally* entertain'd, and receiv'd. But however notwithstanding these *Instruments* do not resemble either the *Saxon* or *Danish Military Arms*, yet I find in *Wormius's Museum* (p) two *Cimbric Instruments* with which they have some *likeness*. These he tells us were of *Brass*, and he calls them *Wedges*. The larger of them was five *Inches* in *length*, and three in *Breadth*. He is of opinion that they were us'd in the *Wars*, especially when the *Armies* were *very near* each other. If they had *Holes* by which they might have been fix'd to *Helves* he would have believ'd them to be *Battle-Axes*; but being neither *hollow* (as ours are) nor having no other way of being fasten'd to other *Instruments*, he concluded that the Name of *Wedges* might be most proper. A *very ingenious Gentleman* some time since inform'd me

that much such *Instruments* had been found in the *Isle of Man*, and that a great many *Urns* had been also discovered there, as likewise divers *Inscriptions* with *strange Characters*. I do not question but the *Inscriptions* are *Runick*. And 'tis highly probable that the *Instruments* were like those in *Wormius*; but if they agree *exactly* with ours they will from what I shall say by and by appear to be *Roman*. For notwithstanding it be commonly held that the *Romans* never were in this *Isle*, yet I see no other reason why it should be thought so, than that the *antient Authors* now remaining do not mention it. This is only a *negative Argument*, and what we ought not to lay a very great *Stress* upon. The *Urns* seem clearly to evince that they were here. I know indeed that 'tis said that these *Urns* must be perfectly *Danish*, by reason of the *small black Bones* and *Ashes* found in them; which however is no *sure Ground* to go upon. For I have seen in the *Bodlejan Repository* a Piece of a *Roman Urn* which was dug up several *Years* ago at an *old Roman Town* in *England* with many others, some of which were of *different Figures*. 'Tis now in a *Box*, and with it are *little black Bones*, *Ashes*, &c. wrapped up in two *Pieces* of *course Linnen*. This *Linnen* is in the same *figure* with the *Urn*, but the *Urn* for one of the *Pieces* is wanting. The *Smallness* of the *Bones* shews that they are the *Relicks* of *Children*. It was customary among the *Romans* after the *Bodies* were burnt to wash the *Bones* with *Wine* and *Milk*, and afterwards the *Women* wrapt their *Children* in *Linnen*, dry'd them in their *Bosoms*, and then put them into *Urns* to be buried. This *Custom* was also peculiar to the *Danes*, who learn'd it from the *Romans*, from whom likewise they receiv'd *Urn-Burial* it self. Such *Urns* too are mention'd by the famous *Sir Thomas Brown* to have been found at *Old Watlington* in *Yorkshire*. Nor is the *Roman History* altogether silent of the *Isle of Man's* being known to the *Romans*.

mans. For *Plutarch* expressly tells us, that one *Demetrius* sailed hither, as well as to other *British Isles* in the Reign of *Adrian*. 'Tis no wonder that *Runick Inscriptions* are discovered in the *Places* where *Roman Urns* are found. Those *Inscriptions* might have been made upon other occasions after it became in *future Ages* inhabited by *Danes* and *Norwegians*. The same *Accident* has sometimes happen'd in *England*. And *Mr. Camden* particularly relates in the Close of his *Discourse* concerning *Stone-Henge*, that in the Time of King *Hen. VIIIth.* was found at *Stone-Henge* a *Table* of *mixt Metal* on which were ingrav'd many *Letters*, but the *Character* was so strange that neither *Sir Thomas Elyot*, nor *Mr. Lilly*, the famous *School-Master* of *St. Paul's*, could tell what to make of them, and so there was no care taken to preserve the *Monument*, the *Loss* of which was afterwards much lamented by *Olaus Wormius*, who thought it to be *Runick*, as without question it was: and yet *Stone-Henge* itself is a *Roman Work*, as has been made out by *Mr. Inigo Jones*, who tho' he was confuted by the late *learned Dr. Charleton*, yet *Mr. Jones's* Opinion was very well defended by *Mr. John Webb*, who has in his *Book* distinctly examined the *Methods* made use of both by the *Romans* and the *Danes* in their *Buildings*.

§. 5. Having proceeded thus far in this *Inquiry*, and shew'd that these *Instruments* were not *military Arms* either of the *Britains*, or of the *Saxons*, or of the *Danes*, I shall now carry it on farther and endeavour to prove that they are owing to the *Romans*, which is what I have before insinuated. I once thought that they were a sort of *Axes* which the *Romans* made use of in their *Sacrifices*, of which *Dr. Plot* takes notice of two sorts, the *secures Lapidææ* and the *secures Cuprææ*, tho' *Dr. Leigh* will have his *Instances* to be both *Indian*. Upon a more narrow consideration of the *Roman* sacrificing *Instruments*, I have quite changed

chang'd this Opinion, not finding the least Footsteps of such Axes in any of the Books of Roman Antiquities I have hitherto consulted. On the contrary they are in the *Suovetaurilia* or *Solitaurilia* of the *Columna Trajana* represented in the same Form, and fastened in the same manner, that we use at this Day. And so also in other Sacrifices, as may partly be seen in the *Gemms*, *Rings*, &c. publish'd out of the *Studies* of *Augustinus*, and *Gorlaeus*, as well as in the *Monuments* of *Gruter*, *Reinesius*, *Spon* and *Fabretti*, to omit the *Authors* collected upon this Subject by *Grævius* in his large Body of *Roman Antiquities*. Neither could they have been the Heads of Spears, as is manifest from the same *Authorities*. The Roman Spears and Javelins occur very frequently, and yet not one of them either on their Coyns or elsewhere is to be met with in the Figure of these Instruments. 'Tis true some of their Spears had two Heads, so they might use either End uppermost as they pleas'd. We have one of these in *Augustinus* (q). The Heads differ from one another, but they neither of them answer our Monuments. Nor are the most antient Spears of the Romans we meet with different from those they made use of in more modern Times, as may in some measure be seen in the famous Shield lately published at Oxford (r), which is certainly authentick. It's Antiquity is defended in the Place I have cited. It may here be farther added to what is there alledg'd that *Lucius Florus* gives (s) us the first Instance of the Romans fighting upon Horses without Bridles; and in the *Columna Trajana* (t) the Horses are placed in full speed with their Riders without any Bridles or other Curbs to restrain and guide them,

(q) *Gemm. & Script. antiq. ex Edit. Jac. Gronovii* Franeg. 1694. Part. num. 155. (r) *Vide Livij Edit. Oxon. Vol. VI. p. 195.* (s) *Lib. I. c. 9.* (t) *Num. 199.*

a great many of the *Romans* having made themselves *Masters* of this *Method of Fighting* that they might like the *Numidians* (who were famous for it) be the less incumber'd in the *Battle*, and rush upon the *Enemy* with the more *Force*. Their *Defultores* also are *Proof* enough of it's being *practicable*.

§.6. But now tho' these *Instruments* are not properly *Roman military Weapons*, such as they us'd in their *Battles*, yet they were of service amongst the *Souldiers*, and good Numbers of them were constantly provided to be carried about in the *Army*. For I believe that they are *Roman Chissells*, and that they were us'd to cut the *Stones*, and other *Materials* that were judg'd serviceable for building their *Camps*. This is not *Conjecture* only as appears from the *Columna Trajana*, where (u) the *Souldiers* are represented polishing the *Stones* for the *Roman Tents* in the *Dacic Wars* with such sort of *Chissells* made of *Brass*. These *Chissells* they beat and worked into the *Stone* and other *Materials* with *Mallets* of the same *Metal*. We have other *Instances* of it in the same *Pillar*; which is one of the best *Monuments* we have by which to judge of the several *Instruments* made use of by them in their *military Enterprises*. These *Chissells* were of *admirable service* in making their *Aggeres*, which consisted of *Earth*, *Stones* and *Timber*. The *Stones* were sometimes thrown together without any *polishing*; but that was more rarely, and 'twas look'd upon as a better *security* to have them work'd that they might lye even. By this *Account* the reason will be easily perceiv'd why these *Instruments* are *hollow*, namely to fasten *Handles* to them for more convenience in driving them. If

(u) In num. 267.

they had been *Wedges*, 'twould have been a great *Inconvenience* to have had them *hollow*. Besides the *Wedges* by being drove into the *Wood* or *Stones* would have been *strangely* worn on the *Sides*, and have receiv'd considerable *Alterations*, whereas the *Sides* of ours in the *Bottle-jan Repository* (and I suppose your's are so too) are just as they were at first, and there is not the least *Change*, unless it be on the *Edge*, which is very *blunt* and much *broken*, which I guess to have proceeded from the *Stone*. As for the *Ears* or *Loops*, 'tis probable they might be put on that thereby the *Handles* might be fixt the better; or perhaps they were design'd for the Ease of the *Souldiers*, who in their *Journeys* might by this means fasten them to their *Girdles*. For I believe most if not all the *Souldiers* had such *Instruments*, which they were oblig'd to make use of when *Necessity* requir'd. I know that 'tis the opinion of most that there were a few particular *Persons* always in the *Army* to whom these *Works* were committed, and that they were *exempt* from the Office of *Souldiers*, and that they were *marmorarij*, *quadraturarij*, *tignarij* and *structores*. These may be call'd all by one Name *fabri murarij*, tho' that is commonly reckon'd only another Name for *structores*. But this is a wrong *Perswasion*, and *Fabretti* has (w) well observ'd that there are no *fabri murarij*, as they are taken for *Artists* distinct from *Souldiers*, on *Trajan's Pillar*. This *Observation* he has made in opposition to *Santi Bartoli*, who calls them expressly *fabri murarij*. *Fabretti's Remark* as 'tis very just with respect to this sort of *Artists*, so it must be noted that there were no other distinct *Artists* that were freed from the *Dutys* of *Souldiers*. Even the *Artists* that had receiv'd *liberal Education* are to

(w) Syntagm. de columna Trajana pag. 208.

be comprehended in this *Observation*, I mean their *Physitians*: which is the reason that in *Fabretti* we have (x) the *Picture* of a *Physitian* fortified with a *lorica* or *Coat of Mail* and moving his *Hands* to a *sick Person* that was his *Patient*. The *lorica* shews he was one of the *better sort* of *Souldiers* call'd *evocati*, those of the *inferior Order* being allow'd only a *Pectoral* of *thin Brass*. It withal points out to us that he was after he had finish'd these *Offices* to the *Sick* bound to betake himself to the *other Offices* of a *Souldier*. This was sometimes intermitted, but in *Trajan's* strict *Discipline* 'twas *always* observ'd, he being resolv'd to imitate and bring into *fashion* the *Severity* that had been made use of in the more *antient Times*. For this reason we see the *Souldiers* in this *Pillar* duly exercising and performing, when there was any *need*, all the *Offices* of *Tradesmen*, it being at this time *customary* to list *Tradesmen* amongst the *Souldiers* for this *Intent*.

§. 7. Besides the *Uses* these *Instruments* were put to in forming the *Roman Camps*, they were moreover employ'd in making and repairing the *High Ways*, which swallow'd up a *large Quantity* of *Stone*, especially in such *Places* as were *marshy* and *Fenny*. The *Pomptin Marshes* were vastly large, and yet at such time as the *Souldiers* were too many to be us'd against the *Enemy*, a *motion* was made that they should be employ'd to *drain* them, which was so well approv'd, that the *Senate* immediately gave *Orders* for it, and the *Soil* was so *rich* and *fertile* that *great Numbers* came and settled here, insomuch that there were no less than XXXIII. *Towns* built upon the *Ground*. The *Waters* however afterwards got strength again, and 'twas in a manner *wholly* drown'd; which made *Julius Cæsar* entertain some *Thoughts* of *draining*

(x) *Loco cit. pag. 217.*

them *afresh* and of carrying the *Appian Way* through them, whereas it had before went about them ; but he fail'd in his *Design*, and 'twas left for one of his *Glorious Successors* the Emperor *Trajan*, who after he had cleans'd the *Fens*, caus'd a *Stone Way* to be made through them, whereon were built *large Inns* and *magnificent Bridges* for Conveyance of the *Water* which was in the upper Part of the *Marsh*. For memory of which he had a *Monumental Stone* erected with a proper *Inscription*, by which it appears that the *Way* was *XIX Miles* in length, there being plac'd at the End of every *Mile* a *Mile- Stone*, and from thence the *Way* it self was in succeeding Times call'd *Decennovium*. I might from hence take occasion to mention other *Works* of the *Romans* in *Italy* of this kind, in which *Chissells* were absolutely necessary for cutting the *Stones* ; but this is needless at present, and therefore I shall only remark that as *Trajan* was diligent about the *Ways* in *Italy* and other *Parts*, so it seems he was no less careful of these *Affairs* in *Britain*. For notwithstanding some tell us that the four *Great Ways* in *Britain* are owing to *Molmutius*, one of the *British Kings* and *Belinus*, his Son, yet *Mr. Camden* and others have shew'd that they are rather to be attributed to the *Romans*, being repair'd and made as it were quite anew (whereas before they were very mean) by *Trajan*, after he had reduc'd the *Britains* to *Obedience*. Besides which *Ways* he also made divers other *Lesser* ones here, and perhaps these *Chissells* that have occasioned this *Letter* may be some of those us'd by the *Souldiers* in his *Reign*, tho' before his Time *Acts* of this kind had been perform'd by the *Roman Souldiers*, who also forc'd the *Britains* to undergo the same *Drudgery*, which occasion'd them to complain to *Agricola*, as if they were too severely and hardly dealt with.

§. 8. If it be ask'd how it comes to pass that these *Instruments* are of *Brass* rather than of any other *Metal*? it may be reply'd that they as well as the *People* of other *Nations* in former times thought there was an extraordinary virtue in *Brass*. Whence it was that they us'd *brass Instruments* when the *Moon* was in an *Eclipse* (y), thinking that by beating of them she would the more easily be recover'd from her *Labour*, which custom almost universally prevail'd. And 'twas upon account of this peculiar *Virtue* suppos'd to be in *Brass* that the *Instruments* made use of in the *sacred Offices* were in the more early times all of *Brass*, that the *Tuscans* used *Brass Plowshares* when their *Cities* were built, and that the *Priests* of the *Sabins* were shav'd with *Brass Razors* (z). *Hesiod* himself tells (a) us that the *Antients* us'd *Brass Instruments* before *Iron* ones :

Χαλκῷ δ' ἐργάζοντο μέλας δ' οὐκ ἔσκε σιδῆρος;

At which time not only their *Arms* but their *Houses* were likewise of *Brass*.

Τοῖς δ' ἦν χαλκεαὶ μὲν πύργαι, χαλκοὶ δὲ τε δικοί. (a)

The *Custom* might prevail as well in *Britain* as elsewhere, *Iron* being not so very plentiful in the first time of the *Romans*; however it might increase afterwards when the *Bath-Forge* was erected, and all proper *Methods* us'd upon that occasion. Nor ought it to be wonder'd how the *Brass-Chisells* could be apply'd to the *Stone* without breaking to pieces immediately, any more than that the *Ploughshares* did not suffer the same *Damage* in casting up the *Ground* and grating against the *Stones* with more *Violence*. The *Brass* in those early times was of a different nature from ours, and so temper'd as to endure much longer with less inconvenience in the several *Operations* to which employ'd.

§. 9. I have finish'd what I have to say at present upon these old *Instruments*. As for another Piece of *Anti-*

(y) See *Livy lib. XXVI. c. 5. Edit. Oxon.* (z) *Vide Rhodigini antiqu. Lectr. l. XIX. c. 10.* (a) *Epy. x. Hæ lib. I. v. 150.* (b) *I. id. v. 149.*

quity which you tell me you have in your *Collection*, namely a *Spur* that is no less than 6 *Inches* and an half long from the *Heel* to the *Middle* of the *Rowell*, which you take to be of a much later *Date* than the other *Monuments*, we have one in the *Bodlejan Repository* of much the same *length*, of which I have made mention in my *Additions* to Sir *John Spelman's* Life of King *Ælfred*. There have been several others found in *England*, and you have justly guess'd your's to be more *modern* than the other *Instruments*. For these *Spurs* are certainly *Danish*, as appears from *Wormius's Monumenta Danica* (d), where he has given us the *Figure* of one, and there is an Account of divers others towards the latter End of his *Museum*, one of which is a foot and some odd *Inches* in *length*.

§. 10. I have been the more particular upon this *Subject*, because I do not remember that it has as yet been treated of by any of our *Antiquaries*, and I was willing to discuss several *Points* that occasionally offer'd themselves when I began to consider it. *Conjectures* in *Affairs* of this nature are allowable, and accordingly I have made use of them; but I have endeavour'd to keep my self within the *Bounds* of *Modesty*, and I leave the whole to your better *Sagacity*. If I have suggested any thing that may be of use to you, as well as serve to gratify your *Curiosity*, it will be abundant Satisfaction to,

Oxon.

Sir,

1709.

Your oblig'd humble Servant

Tho. Hearne.

(c) *Pag.* 43. (d) *Pag.* 50.